

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
ACDA-12 TRSE-00 BIB-01 HA-05 EB-08 COME-00 STR-07  
IO-13 /112 W

-----040670 131459Z /72

R 131253Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5615  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 4999

EO 11652GDS  
TAGS: CSCE UR PL  
SUBJ: NEW CSCE APPROACHES TO SOVIET UNION AND EAST  
EUROPEAN STATES

REF: A. STATE 120984, B. 77 WARSAW 4612, C. WARSAW  
4413 (NOTAL) D. WARSAW 1410 (NOTAL)

1. GENERAL: A NEW CSCE DEMARCHE TO THE GOP SHOULD,  
OF COURSE, INCLUDE THE ISSUES OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT  
AND DIVIDED FAMILIES, BUT SHOULD NOT NEGLECT OTHER  
AREAS IN WHICH THE GOP HAS NOT, IN OUR VIEW, LIVED  
UP TO ITS CSCE OBLIGATIONS. IN OUR VIEW SUCH A  
DEMARCHE, BECAUSE IT INEVITABLY WOULD EMPHASIZE FREEDOM  
OV MOVEMENT, SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL MID-SEPTEMBER  
AT THE EARLIEST. THIS WOULD ALLOW THE GOP A REASONABLE  
PERIOD TO ABSORB AND REACT TO OUR RECENT HIGH-LEVEL  
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REPRESENTATIONS ON THESE MATTERS. WE THINK, MOREOVER,  
THAN AN EARLIER ACROSS-THE-BOARD CSCE APPROACH COULD  
UNDESIRABLY DILUTE THE EFFECT OF THOSE REPRESENTATIONS.  
SUGGESTED ELEMENTS FOR A CSCE DEMARCHE FOLLOW, BROKEN  
DOWN BY BASKETS.

2. BASKET I: A) POLISH PERFORMANCE ON MILITARY

CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTING. AMERICAN ATTACHES HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY SHUT OUT FROM POLISH MILITARY INSTALLATIONS. THESE OFFICERS, WHETHER ON LEGITIMATE MISSIONS TO GATHER OVERT MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OR SIMPLY TOURING IN POLAND, ARE CONSPICUOUSLY TRAILED. LIKE OTHER AMERICANS, THEY ARE COMPELLED TO SURRENDER THEIR IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS AT HOTELS IN POLAND IN ORDER TO REGISTER. IN CONTRAST, THE USG DOES NOT SUBJECT POLISH MILITARY ATTACHES TO SIMILAR HARASSMENT OR RESTRICTIONS. MOREOVER, A POLISH ATTACHE VISITED LANGELY AIR FORCE BASE AND INSPECTED AN F-15; POLISH MILITARY HAVE TOURED THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY AND TALKED WITH CADETS; AND A POLISH MILITARY ATTACHE WAS BRIEFED AT NORAD.

B) THE POLES SHOULD CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAIN GOAL OF CSCE BASKET I IS NOT TO CRACK THE LEGITIMATE SECRETS OF THE SIGNATORY COUNTRIES, BUT TO ELIMINATE THE EXAGGERATED SECRECY WHICH FUELS MUTUAL SUSPICIONS AND TO PROVE THAT THE EXCHANGE OF MEN AND INFORMATION NEED NOT COMPROMISE NATIONAL SECURITY. CONSULTATION BETWEEN PLANNING BODIES OF THE MILITARY OF BOTH COUNTRIES IS THEREFORE DESIRABLE. TO THIS END, WE SHOULD PUSH FOR AN EXCHANGE BETWEEN MILITARY COLLEGES AS PROPOSED IN REF D. IN ADDITION, A CALL AT A POLISH PORT BY A US NAVAL SHIP  
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WOULD BE A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. AS A STARTER SUCH A CALL BY A TRAINING VESSEL SIMILAR TO THE DAR POMORZA WHICH TOOK PART IN OPSAIL 76 MIGHT BE EASIEST TO ARRANGE.

3. BASKET II: A( THE GOP HAS TAKEN SEVERAL IMPORTANT STEPS RECENTLY IN IMPROVING ITS RECORD IN IMPLEMENTING THE PROVISIONS OF BASKET II. THE APRIL, 1978, ISSUE OF THE MONTHLY STATISTICAL BULLETIN GIVES TRADE DATA FOR THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1978 IN VALUE TERMS, BROKEN DOWN BY COUNTRIES. THE GOP STOPPED PUBLISHING SUCH STATISTICS ON A CURRENT BASIS BETWEEN FEBRUARY, 1977, AND MARCH, 1978. IF THE NEW PRACTICE IS CONTINUED, THE GOP WILL ONCE AGAIN HAVE ONE OF THE BETTER RECORDS AMONG COMECON COUNTRIES FOR PUBLISHING CURRENT TRADE AND ECONOMIC INFORMATION. (FYI: WE HAVE ALSO HEARD

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 4999

THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING MAKING AVAILABLE  
MUCH MORE FINANCIAL INFORMATION TO WESTERN BANKS  
CONSIDERING LOANS TO POLAND.)

(B) IF WE RAISE BASKET II QUESTIONS WITH  
POLAND, WE SHOULD REFER TO THE NEW, POSITIVE TREND  
TOWARD PUBLISHING TRADE DATA AND EXPRESS OUR HOPE  
THAT THE SEVERAL BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WHICH WE CURRENTLY  
HAVE UNDER NEGOTIATION WILL BE CONCLUDED THIS YEAR.

4. BASKET III: (A) FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW,  
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY INVOLVING DIVIDED  
FAMILIES, REMAINS THE MOST DIVISIVE ISSUE IN OUR  
BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH POLAND. AS INDICATED IN  
REF C, THE OVERALL POLISH PERFORMANCE IN THIS AREA  
IS LITTLE IMPROVED. HOWEVER, THE ABSENCE OF A BREAK-  
THROUGH DESPITE HIGH-LEVEL USG INTEREST DOES NOT MEAN  
WE SHOULD GIVE UP THE EFFORT. RATHER, WE SHOULD KEEP  
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UP THE PRESSURE ON THE GOP TO ACCEPT OUR PERCEPTION  
OF THE IMPORTANCE, AND OUR PROPOSED RESOLUTION, OF  
THE PROBLEM. TO BE SURE, SOME EMIGRATION PASSPORTS  
HAVE BEEN ISSUED IN CASES INVOLVING DIVIDED FAMILIES;  
RECENTLY, ONE OF THE HARD-CORE CASES (BIEGUNSKI)

WAS FAVORABLY RESOLVED. BUT THE BACKLOG OF CASES DEPENDENT UPON POLISH ISSUANCE OF EMIGRATION DOCUMENTATION HAS NOT FALLEN. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO CONVEY UNAMBIGUOUSLY TO THE GOP (1) THE PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE TO US OF THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE, (2) OUR VIEW THAT THE PRESENT GOP POSTURE PUTS POLAND IN DEFAULT ON ITS CSCE OBLIATIONS, AND (3) THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES CONTINUED POLISH RECALICATRANCE WOULD HAVE ON POLAND'S REPUTATION FOR FULFILLING HUMAN RIGHTS, AS WELL AS ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

(B) THE USG DEPLORES RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL SELECTIVELY IMPOSED BY THE GOP AGAINST ITS CITIZENS. ACQUISITION OF DOCUMENTATION VALID FOR TRAVEL TO THE WEST IS AN UNCERTAIN, EXPENSIVE, AND TIME-CONSUMING PROCESS. WE SHOULD BE READY, HOWEVER, TO PARRY GOP COMPLAINTS DESIGNED TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM POLAND'S OWN CSCE SHORTCOMINGS. AS NOTED IN REF C, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARES THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO LEAVE AND RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRIES, BUT DOES NOT GUARANTEE THE RIGHT OF ENTRY INTO ANOTHER COUNTRY. FURTHERMORE, BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT APPLY INTERNAL CONTROLS TO ITS CITIZENS AND VISITORS COMPARABLE TO THOSE ENCOUNTERED IN OTHER COUNTRIES, EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO SCREEN OUT IN ADVANCE THOSE LIKELY TO VIOLATE THE STATUS OF AN NON-IMMIGRANT VISITOR.

(C) A LIMITED SELECTION OF WESTERN PUBLICATIONS IS AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE IN TOKEN QUANTITIES IN CONFIDENTIAL

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HOTELS THAT CATER TO FOREIGN VISITORS AND IN STORES THAT SPECIALIZE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS. IN ADDITION, WESTERN PUBLICATIONS MAY BE READ IN CERTAIN READING CLUBS. DURING VISIT FROM WESTERN STATESMEN AND CONFERENCES THAT INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT WESTERN PARTICIPTATION, WESTERN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES ARE PUT ON SALE IN LARGER QUANTITIES, BUT THEY QUICKLY DISAPPEAR ONE THE EVENT IS OVER. GENERALLY SPEAKING, THE SUPPLY FALLS SHORT OF THE DEMAND FROM POLES AND FOREIGN TOURISTS ALIKE. A POLISH ASSERTION THAT THE GOP CANNOT AFFORD TO IMPORT MORE WESTERN PUBLICATIONS BECAUSE OF A LACK OF HARD CURRENCY EARNED FROM TOURISM COULD EASILY FINANCE INCREASED IMPORT OF NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES FROM THE WEST (SEE REF B).

(D) THE US HAS NO PERMANENT CORRESPONDENTS STATIONED IN WARSAW. HOWEVER, POLISH STRINGERS REPRESENTING UPI AND AP, AS WELL AS RESIDENT WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS, HAVE BEEN WARNED ON OCCASION TO STAY AWAY FROM CERTAIN STORIES THAT WOULD PRESUMABLY BE UNFAVORABLE TO THE GOP. THE USG EXERTS NO SUCH PRESSURE

ON POLISH JOURNALISTS WORKING IN THE UNITED STATES.  
THE GOP SHOULD ALLOW WESTERN MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES  
IN POLAND THE SAME SCOPE OF FREEDOM  
GRANTED POLISH JOURNALISTS IN THE WEST.  
SCHAUFEELE

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## Message Attributes

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